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ORATION,

DELIVERED AT THE REQUEST OF THE

CITY AUTHORITIES OF SALEM,

JULY 4, 1842.

BY CHARLES W. UPHAM,¹⁸⁰²⁻¹⁸⁷⁵,
Pastor of the First Church.

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Salem.

CHAPMAN AND PALFRAY, PRINTERS.

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1842.



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CITY OF SALEM.

IN COMMON COUNCIL—*Monday evening, July 11, 1842.*

Mr. DRIVER submitted the following Resolves, which were unanimously adopted, and sent up for concurrence:

Resolved, That the thanks of the City Council be presented to the Rev. CHARLES W. UPHAM, for the eloquent and learned Oration delivered by him on the late anniversary of American Independence, at the request of the City Authorities of Salem; and that the Committee of Arrangements be authorised to request a copy for publication.

Resolved, That the thanks of the City Council be presented to the Salem Light Infantry and Salem Mechanic Light Infantry Companies, for their prompt and efficient performance of Escort duty.

Resolved, That the thanks of the City Council be presented to Col. H. K. OLIVER, Chief Marshal, his Aids and Assistants, for their valuable services in arranging the civil procession.

Resolved, That the thanks of the City Council be presented to the officiating Clergymen and the reader of the Declaration of Independence, for their services on this occasion.

Resolved, That the thanks of the City Council be presented to those Ladies and Gentlemen composing and assisting the volunteer Choir, for their correct and appropriate performances, and to the gentleman who wrote the Ode for that occasion.

BOARD OF ALDERMEN—*Monday evening, July 11, 1842.*

The above Resolutions were read, and unanimously concurred in.

ORATION.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

IN complying with the call of your municipal authorities, to address you, on this anniversary, I have been influenced by a deep sense of the dignity, importance and solemnity of the occasion. The American Revolution, regarded as an event in the history of nations and of humanity, in the causes that led to it, and in the results that have flowed, and are still to flow from it, is a theme which may well command the contemplation of every philanthropic and devout mind ; and if the anniversary that commemorates it has ever been made an occasion for the utterance of narrow and partial views, of stale repetitions of the common-places of patriotism, and of partisan harangues, the fault has been, not in the day, but in the manner in which it has been observed.

Whoever justly appreciates this anniversary, will find the tone of his thoughts and feelings rising, at once, far above the level of their ordinary condition, and becoming comprehensive and all-embracing. He will feel that every discord ought to be hushed, and every conflict of opinion or of policy suspended ; and that the indulgence of the animosities of faction, on this day, would be a sacrilegious violation of the sanctity

with which that Providence, which rules over men and nations, has stamped it. The sun which rises upon our Fourth of July, ought to shed its beams upon a united and grateful—upon a happy and an adoring people. The millions of America ought to feel themselves to be one family. The only relation they should recognize this day, is that of brotherhood. Sectarian and political lines of division should all be obliterated, and the whole people, with hearts every where beating in unison, should cherish and express one sentiment of deep-felt thankfulness for the blessings of the past, the privileges of the present, and the hopes of the future. It is proper that religious solemnities should be mingled with our rejoicings, for the occasion is truly and eminently a religious one. No portion of the world's history is more signally marked by the interposition of a guiding and controlling divine hand, than that which we have met to commemorate. If the idea has any currency among us, that this anniversary is merely an occasion of noisy popular acclamation, or that it is adapted to awaken no higher exercises of the mind and heart than national vanity and pride, it only proves that those who entertain it have not yet apprehended the value of their institutions—have not sounded the depths of the privileges or the responsibilities assigned them, and have not read their history with eyes to discern that light from heaven which shines along its track. But every day that passes is leading to juster and nobler views. As our early annals recede into the more and more distant past, they not only become incrusted with the hoar of a reverend antiquity, but they disclose to our contemplation continually brightening evidence of that benignant Providence which from the very beginning has been steadily preparing the way for the grand results which have, in part, already been developed. Instead of its topics being worn

out, instead of their becoming trite and barren, I have no hesitation in predicting that this anniversary will hereafter be regarded with more and more interest, and invested with an ever-increasing dignity.

The firing of guns and the ringing of bells, the glittering array of plumed ranks, and the inspiring strains of martial music, are all congenial to the occasion, but they are not enough for the occasion. An intelligent and thoughtful people require, in addition to them, the exercises which we have assembled here to perform. Our minds need, not only to be excited with joy, but to be led on in meditation. We desire to have our thoughts conducted to a clearer discernment of the sources from which our political blessings have been derived; to loftier and more enlightened views of the obligations that rest upon us; to profounder convictions of the connection which the part we are called to perform has with the august purposes of Heaven; and to a more stimulating and admiring perception of the glorious results that will ensue, to our posterity and to the world, if we perform that part faithfully and well.

I have offered these introductory remarks, my fellow citizens, because I wish you to know that, so far from feeling that there is any want of adaptation between my professional calling, and the discharge of the duty in this day's proceedings assigned to me by your municipal authorities, I fully appreciate its high moral dignity, and its congeniality with the great ends of the religion of which I am a minister. The American clergy do not engage in the conflicts of domestic parties, but they are, as they ever have been, a patriotic body of men, and they possess, and will exercise, a right to mingle with their fellow countrymen, on equal terms, in the sentiments and the observances of this day of grateful commemo-

ration, interesting alike to the whole people. I obeyed the call to appear before you, upon the express understanding that the arrangements should be conducted upon such comprehensive principles as would embrace the whole body of my fellow citizens. The obligation has been faithfully executed. The audience is all that can be desired, the theme is great and noble, and if my ability were equal to my aspirations, such a view would be presented of the origin and progress of American independence and liberty as would fill the hearts of all in this assembly to overflowing with the profoundest sentiments of patriotism, philanthropy, and piety.

The early part of the seventeenth century was marked by a general interest, pervading the English nation, in the planting and colonization of North America. The progress of civilization, under the quickening influence of commerce, had raised the great body of the people, of what are called the middle and lower conditions of life, to a point of elevation that rendered them dissatisfied and restive under the feudal institutions of a comparatively savage period. A combination of circumstances had, long before, given a start and a momentum to the public mind of all Europe, greater than had ever been witnessed. The vast expeditions of the armies of christendom to the plains of Asia had effectually broken the slumbers of the dark ages. The inventions of the movable type and of the mariner's compass, and the earnest controversial struggles, reaching to the lowest depths of society, that led to the Protestant Reformation, had awakened the intellect, and let loose the curiosity, and inflamed the fancies of men, and, at the moment when these influences were working with their liveliest and strongest force, the vision of a new world, emerging from the ocean's waves beyond the setting sun, rose upon the excited and enraptured gaze of the na-

tions. The strange, and, as was natural, highly drawn and exaggerated descriptions which voyagers to America carried back, of lovely islands, and fertile fields, and unfathomable forests, produced a wide and permanent impression upon the sentiments and the literature of Europe. The deeply laden galleons of Spain, bearing home uncounted millions of silver and gold, roused the emulation of all other countries, and of none more than of England. Her insular position, and the resulting character of her people, placed her in the front rank in all movements and enterprises of a maritime and commercial nature.

A very different fortune, however, from that which Spain had experienced, awaited the English adventures of discovery and colonization in America. No mines opened glittering treasures to their eager search. No Eldorado hung down its golden fruit to the touch, or spread out its pavement of precious stones beneath the feet, of English explorers. The northern portion of the continent, that assigned to them by the course of events, repulsed their storm-beaten vessels from a frowning and forbidding rock-bound and snow-clad coast. The track of their voyages was the theatre of wintry tempests, and the country itself was sterile, and cold, and covered with an inhospitable wilderness. Not finding the precious metals, another equally flattering and delusive vision took possession of their hearts. They were confident of being able to discover a passage, by a direct and expeditious route, to the rich Indies, of which the lands they had visited in America were considered as a bordering appendage. Many were the adventures, prompted by this expectation, all ending in ruinous disappointment.

At length visionary fortune-hunters and gold-diggers relinquished North America in despair, and thenceforth it was left

to the exclusive contemplation of two very different classes of men. One was commercial adventurers, who had judgment and intelligence enough to be satisfied with such gains as the fisheries, and the products of the wilderness, would afford—the other non-conformists in religion, who looked abroad for shelter from the hierarchy at home. By these two classes, acting separately or conjointly, several attempts at colonization were made on the coast. In the year 1606 King James the First granted all the continent from the 45th to the 34th degree of latitude to two mercantile companies, for purposes of colonization and traffic. One of these companies, belonging to London, had the southern portion, or Virginia, assigned them. The northern portion, or New England, was assigned to the other company, consisting of merchants in Plymouth. Many attempts were made to settle the country under the auspices of these two associations, but no great degree of success attended them. The Pilgrims, who came over in the Mayflower, had embarked under the auspices of the London, or Virginia company, but having, against their design, been landed within the Bay of Massachusetts, came under the jurisdiction of the New England, or Plymouth company, from which body, in 1630, they obtained a patent. Several other smaller settlements took place within the limits of the jurisdiction of the northern grant.

In the year 1627 a very important change took place in the character of American colonization. An association of distinguished gentlemen, living in and near Dorchester in England, purchased of the Plymouth company all that part of the continent from a point three miles south of Charles River to three miles north of the Merrimack, and extending, as all such grants then did, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Some of these gentlemen were interested in the purchase

from motives of commercial gain, but the principal part of them, from a desire to secure a refuge for themselves and their dissenting brethren from the troubles and trials then impending over them in England. The purchase from the Plymouth company gave a right to the soil, but the powers of government over it could only be obtained by a royal charter, which was granted in March, 1628. This charter incorporated the purchasers of the tract I have described, and conferred upon them ample and full powers of government.— When assembled for business they were styled a Court, and they appointed their own Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants. John Endicott, who subsequently was called to the Chief Magistracy of the colony, by the popular voice, for a greater number of years than any other individual has ever filled that office, was sent over to administer, as their agent, the affairs of the colony.

In the mean time circumstances in England were rendering the situation of nonconformists more and more uncomfortable, and the hearts of many of them were turned towards the remote American wilderness for shelter from the gathering storm. The only insurmountable obstacle in the way of emigration was an unwillingness, on the part of men of influence and substance, to subject themselves, when removed across the Atlantic, to the inconveniences and wrongs to which they would, in all probability, be exposed from a government conducted by irresponsible persons remaining in England, and necessarily, therefore, destitute of all personal experience in the affairs, or personal knowledge of the circumstances of so remote a plantation. This difficulty was vital, and if not removed, would have been fatal. There was one remedy, and only one, and that fortunately for the world was discovered and applied.

John Winthrop, with Sir Richard Saltonstall, and others, made known to the Court of Proprietors, that they would remove with their families to New England, as permanent settlers, provided that the charter itself, and the government under it, were removed with them. Let it be borne in mind that the incorporated company, to whom the territory had been granted by the crown, were invested by their patent and charter with all the powers of government over it. The question was, whether the colony in America should continue to be dependent upon the Court of Proprietors, assembled in London—in which event neither Winthrop nor any of his distinguished associates would consent to emigrate—or whether the government of the colony should thenceforward be relinquished and committed to those members of the company who should reside in America—in which event they were ready forthwith to embark. The question was, whether British colonists in America should govern themselves, or be governed by a power remaining in England. The language of Winthrop and his associates was this—"rather than live in America, subject to a power in England, we prefer to endure persecution at home—but let us carry our charter with us, let us govern ourselves there, let us enjoy independence, and we will cheerfully abandon our fertile fields, and costly houses, and pleasant homes, and brave the dangers of the sea and the privations of the wilderness." The proposal was a startling one to those proprietors who had no intention to emigrate, but it was concluded that the prosperity of the colony would be so much promoted by being under a government, acquainted, from personal observation and experience, with its circumstances, as to render its acceptance expedient, and it was voted that the charter should be transferred to

America, and all its powers and functions be exercised and enjoyed there.

Upon the decision of this question, in a body of merchants and private gentlemen, sitting in London, hung interests and results, as great and momentous, as were ever determined by Congresses, or Cabinets, or Councils of State. Had the proposal of Winthrop been declined, the primeval wilderness might have continued to this day to have brooded over the surface of the American continent—a few feeble colonies might have lingered through a languishing existence, terminating in an Indian massacre, or in pestilence and famine—a few commercial factories might have been scattered along the shores, and a few fishermen and hunters might have frequented the coasts, or penetrated into the interior, but a nation of freemen never could have come into being. The transference of that charter imparted to America the principle of life, breathed over its fields and forests the spirit of independence, and made liberty every where a native of its hills and vallies. When Winthrop and his associates embarked with their charter for Massachusetts Bay, the auspicious destinies of this continent were unalterably fixed, the progress of humanity secured, and its prospects brightened to the end of time; and when, on the 12th of June, 1630, the ship *Arabella*, in which the precious freight was borne, came to anchor in the harbour of Salem, the first age of American Independence began.

The instrument by which all the rights and powers of government were claimed and exercised by the early colonists of Massachusetts Bay, described the territory it embraced as reaching from sea to sea. The description, although prompted by ignorance of the dimensions of the then unexplored continent, is already beginning to wear the aspect of a

prophecy. 'The Atlantic and the Pacific oceans are the only barriers that can check the spread, or limit the extension, of the independent empire, upon which the Anglo Saxon race entered, when the arrival of the Arabella conferred the attributes of self-government upon America.

For fifty-five years the privileges of complete independence were here enjoyed. The people elected their own legislators and magistrates, their governor and officers of state, regulated their own affairs, watched over their own institutions, and at their leisure securely laid the foundations of a free and happy commonwealth. The philosophical and thoughtful observer will recognize in their circumstances and history a combination of influences most curiously and wonderfully co-operating to perfect their education and preparation for the destinies their descendants are now fulfilling.

The men who commenced this great work were singularly adapted to it. It was as truly as beautifully said of them, that "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness." They were learned, brave, just, and devout men. They had reached clearer and deeper views of true statesmanship than the founders of all other empires. They were the ripe fruits of an intellectual and religious developement, then taking place in England, and which carried the great body of that people, for a brief period, to a higher point than has ever been reached by them since. They were few in number, but their seclusion from the rest of the world, and the broad barrier of the Atlantic, sheltered them from assault; and they well knew how, by education and religion, by securing the prevalence of industry, and virtue, of knowledge and piety, to render their posterity strong and unconquerable. The soil was rough and reluctant, but the labor, to which alone it would yield, was the

charm by which their rapidly advancing prosperity was protected from corruption, debility and decay. There were dangers surrounding them, and suffering and trial were largely mingled in their condition, but these things served only to consolidate their energies, and nerve their souls with fortitude and courage. The wilderness hung like a dark cloud, around their horizon, but its gloomy shadows deepened the sources of that sublime faith by which they were accustomed to look beyond all present evil, to a future brighter and happier day that would surely dawn upon a world redeemed from oppression and sin. Every thing indeed served to strengthen their manly faculties, to harden them into invincibility, to render the love of independence the deepest passion of their souls, and to fit them to become the founders of a great republican empire.

Here then, in these fifty-five years, covering the two first generations of the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, we behold the great Primary School of American Freedom. The founder of this school, and its first teacher was JOHN WINTHROP—an illustrious and venerable name. The Genius of American Independence, in surveying her own history, recognizes him as her First, and Washington as her Last, great champion. One began, the other completed, the work. There was a remarkable similarity in their characters and lives, in more than poetical, in providential, accordance, with the similarity of the exalted stations they occupied in the great progress of humanity.

Both of them were invested with a native dignity of mien and deportment, and a thoughtful, though courteous, gravity and seriousness of manners, which in early youth commanded, from all beholders, an admiration, confidence, and veneration, which intimacy and time constantly heightened. At the age

of eighteen Winthrop was appointed a justice of the peace, in his native county in England. At the same age Washington was appointed a public surveyor in Virginia. When Winthrop landed in Salem, on the 12th of June, 1630, and assumed the administration of an independent government in America, he, that day, entered upon the forty-fourth year of his age. When Washington assumed the command of the armies of United America, on Cambridge Common, on the 3d of July, 1775, he was also in his forty-fourth year.—

Winthrop exhausted his estate in the service of the colony, and Washington refused to receive any pecuniary compensation for his services in the War of Independence. They were each deeply impressed with a sense of the responsibility and solemnity of the positions they occupied, and, with what seems like an inspired foresight of the interest posterity would take in the operations they were called to conduct, both of them recorded, for the use of the future historian of their country, day by day, with sacred care, their actions and motives, and the course of events and affairs within the spheres of their jurisdiction. They were worthy of the glorious stations assigned them by Providence. And may their pure and excellent names be forever imprinted, in letters of light and love, on the admiring memories and grateful hearts of the American people, and of the friends of liberty and virtue, in all climes, and all ages ! Winthrop was eleven times chosen Governor of the colony he founded. His son and grandson were Governors of Connecticut, and one of his direct descendants, of the present generation, still scarcely more than a youth, has already placed himself among the first men of Massachusetts, and in the councils of the Union won the respect of the nation. He bears in his countenance a remarkable resemblance of his great ancestor, and it is not

strange, it is natural and right, that the same virtues and traits of character, which endeared the First Governor of Massachusetts to the people, should invest the name, as they have already done, in our day, with its ancient honors, by concentrating upon it the popular confidence and affection.

During the civil wars in England the attention of the nation was exclusively directed to its own domestic condition, and there was neither time nor inclination to interfere with a remote and humble colony in America. The Puritans, of course, had no disposition to impose restrictions upon their brethren here, and the Royalists were glad to be so effectually rid of them. It was owing to these causes that such perfect independence of the mother country existed in Massachusetts, during its first age. And I would here observe that similar privileges were, at the same time, enjoyed, with similar results in the character and spirit of the people, in all the other New England colonies. But it was the design of Providence to render the idea of independence dear, by its deprivation, as well as by its possession. In 1684 the charter was taken away, and Massachusetts reduced to a subject Province. But the period of fifty-five years, during which the satisfactions and the privileges of self-government had been experienced, stamped the character of the people forever. Two successive generations had been thoroughly saturated with the spirit of liberty. It had become mingled with their very heart's-blood, and ever after naturally descended in their race as a constitutional and inherent element. No oppression could eradicate, and no lapse of time could exhaust it. The tree had taken root deep in the soil, fastening itself inextricably to the primitive granite of the globe itself; its trunk

was clothed with a rugged strength that no storms nor hurricanes could break or bend; and branches were put forth which will surely spread until the whole continent reclines beneath their peaceful shade.

The abrogation of the charter of Massachusetts was one of the first fruits of the restoration of the Stuarts to the English throne, on the ruins of the cause of civil and religious liberty. It was resolved by that despotic dynasty to trample out the last spark of freedom on both sides of the Atlantic. Regular troops were, for the first time, sent over to the colonies to overawe and enslave the people. Their several governments were abolished. Their Houses of Assembly were dissolved, and all power was concentrated in the unrestrained hands of a Governor General appointed by the crown. Few in number as the colonists then were, and unbounded as was the arbitrary power of the mother country, such a destruction of their most sacred rights was not unresistingly borne, and it is to the honor of the people of Essex county that nowhere was the resistance bolder, and nowhere were such heavy penalties incurred in consequence. But open and general rebellion was vain. To attempt it then would have been insanity, and a suffering and indignant people had no alternative but to bide its time.

About three years after this tyrannical system of colonial administration had been established a rumor reached Boston that the Prince of Orange had landed in England to dethrone James the Second, and before waiting for the confirmation of the rumor, or the result of the expedition, the irrepressible spirit of the people burst forth, they rushed from all quarters into Boston, seized the Royal Governor in his fort and imprisoned him there, and with acclamations of unbounded joy, reinstated their charter govern-

ment, called back old Simon Bradstreet to the chair of state, and again for a brief period enjoyed the sweets of liberty and independence.

This daring movement proves the efficacy of the training the people of Massachusetts had experienced under the old charter. They had become already true sons of liberty, and feared to meet no danger in her cause. And what a venerable and sublime spectacle it was to see Bradstreet re-appear on the public stage! He had come over to America, then a young man, in company with Winthrop; he had lived, and been a conspicuous actor, through the whole period of the early liberties of New England; he was occupying, by the choice of the people, the chief magistracy of the colony when the charter was abrogated; and now, although eighty-six years of age, the venerable patriot is again at his post. Brave old man! What a spirit must have been enshrined in that aged form! With what a venerable dignity must those white locks have been crowned! Happy the people who were able to command the services, and to appreciate the wisdom, of such a patriarch! It is an interesting circumstance to us that this Nestor of New England closed his life in Salem.—He died in 1697, having reached the great age of 94 years. His ashes rest in our soil.

New England had now become too important an element in the colonial system of Great Britain to remain any longer overlooked. A commercial policy had been contrived and instituted by the great statesmen of the Commonwealth, by which ultimate ascendancy over all the European nations was secured to England, and the people, as well as the government, of that country, appreciated the importance of adhering to it. It was based upon the principle of a strict and rigid control over all colonies by the administration of the

home government. In pursuance of this policy, King William refused to allow Massachusetts to continue under the restored and original charter, but established a new one, by which the colonial government, while in many respects it was rendered more liberal than it was before, was brought effectually under the constant oversight and superintendence of the crown.

From this time, until the opening of the Revolutionary war, a period of more than eighty years, the people endured, without ever for a moment being reconciled to it, subjection to a foreign government. During all that long and weary period the hope of independence continued to burn, with an undying flame, in their breasts. Absolute and entire separation from the hierarchies and the monarchies of the old world was the essential, and living, and central principle of all their associations, customs, and institutions, and so far as they were able, in every part of the government that remained to them, in their towns, and neighborhoods, and churches, and military organization, in the education of their children, and in all their private and domestic spheres of influence and action, they kept their eyes sleeplessly fixed upon this one point. They were resolved to shut out foreign influence, and to preserve their individuality as a people—and they cherished, as a religious belief, the assured hope that the independence, which their fathers had enjoyed, would be restored to their children. It was at once, a source of many of the errors into which they fell, and a pleasing refuge from their trials, sufferings and sorrows, to apply to themselves the language of the Old Testament scriptures. As the Israelites, in their exile, remembered Zion, so did they remember their ancient liberties; and as the captive Hebrew was filled with a glorious hope of the restoration of Judah, so did the New Englander dwell, with de-

lightful assurance, upon the vision of a brighter day to dawn upon his posterity.

No man can interpret the history of this country, no man can trace the spirit of American liberty to its fountains, who does not take into view the operation of the first charter upon the public character, while it lasted, and the effects produced by its abrogation. The mournful recollection of those days of independence wore a deep channel into the hearts of the people, and made them organically incapable of resting under oppression. The old men transmitted to their sons the sacred memory of that first age of liberty, and in the traditionary associations of the people a cluster of exciting sentiments gathered around it. It has not even yet been entirely obliterated from the New England heart. Go to the intelligent farmer, who cultivates acres and dwells beneath a roof, transmitted to him from an early generation, and see how his eye will kindle at the name of the “Old Charter.” Go to that true descendant of one of the most honored of the first planters of Massachusetts, and his absence, on this occasion, in the public service, authorizes me, perhaps, thus particularly to allude to him—go to your present Representative in the Halls of Congress, and try the experiment upon him. His warm and generous spirit will respond to every patriotic appeal, but mention in his hearing the “Old Charter,” and his Puritan blood will glow with additional warmth, his New England heart will beat with a quicker and fuller pulse, and his frank and manly eloquence will rise to a loftier level, in the defence of your rights, and of the rights and glory of independent America.

The spirit of liberty, whose origin and history in Massachusetts, and in New England, I have now sketched, gradually pervaded all the British American colonies, and consti-

tated a bond of sympathy and union between them. Occasionally in each one of them occurrences took place, which made them feel the oppressive operation of the foreign, and necessarily arbitrary because foreign, power that held them in subjection. In the mean while their numbers were increasing, and all things conspired to strengthen their principles, deepen their enthusiasm for liberty, and render them resolute and persevering, hardy, brave, and invincible. The Divine superintendence, which the careful observer discerns from the beginning, as the great day of final trial approached, became more and more signal, and visible. Indeed the pillar of cloud and of fire was not more clearly seen, guiding the Israelitish host, through the wilderness, back to their primitive home, than was the Divine Hand in preparing the way for the American Revolution. And in this, as in all the other operations of Providence, the passions of men were made, most strangely, without their knowledge, and against their design, to work out the purposes of God.

The jealousies and ambition of princes and courts on the continent of Europe were the ultimate causes of wars which involved the whole body of civilized and christian nations, arrayed according to their respective attachments or antipathies. In these wars England and France were found confronting each other, and it was so ordered that the grapple between them took place on this continent. The result was the complete extirpation of the French power in North America, which result was an absolutely necessary preliminary to the American Revolution. It is obvious that if the struggle for independence had been made by the British colonies, while the Canadas remained under the dominion of France, it would have been equally disastrous and fatal, whether successful or not—for, if successful, it would have been found to be no

more nor better than a transference from the arms of England to the arms of France.

But the old French wars, as they are called, answered a still higher purpose, in preparing the country for the war of Independence. They gave the people of the then British colonies that experience in military affairs which was absolutely necessary, but which, in no other way, could have been obtained. England sent over her most experienced generals to conquer Canada from France. They executed their orders—but they did more; they taught the subject colonies of England how to achieve their own independence. The victories, which aggrandized, dismembered the British empire. In the eyes of the statesmen of that period, the dying triumph of Wolfe, on the plains of Abraham, secured all North America to the throne of England. But in the retrospect of the historian, at the present day, that event is regarded as having completed the process by which all the colonies of Great Britain were prepared to slip from her grasp, forever.

It thus appears how, while, in this contest, man was accomplishing one purpose, God was accomplishing another. The armies of liberty were silently in training, and skilful commanders and illustrious warriors ripening for their work. Under the walls of Louisburg, in the wilderness, and on the snows of the north, Prescott, and Stark, and Putnam were acquiring and exercising those traits of heroism which afterwards enabled them to inspire their fellow citizens with their own indomitable courage, and to lead wherever the bravest dared to follow. But beneath the forests and behind the mountains of Virginia, what a beautiful and glorious spectacle we behold!

If the time has come for the colonies of Great Britain in America to assert their independence, and if, in vindicating

it, they are to encounter the fiercest wrath, wielding the mighty power of that great empire, it is evident that nothing short of the highest imaginable degree of wisdom and virtue, of fortitude and faith, will be sufficient to guide them through the perilous and all but desperate conflict. The leader of the armies of America must unite the best and noblest qualities of a warrior, and a statesman, and a patriot, or the cause will be lost.

What was needed was provided. Long before the Revolution broke out, a leader was raised up and perfectly fitted for the great office.

Among the mountain passes of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, a youth is seen employed in the manly and invigorating occupations of a surveyor, and awakening the admiration of the hardy backwoodsmen and savage chieftains by the strength and endurance of his frame, and the resolution and energy of his character. In his stature and conformation he is a noble specimen of a man. In the various exercises of muscular power, on foot and in the saddle, he excels all competitors. His admirable physical traits are in perfect accordance with the properties of his mind and heart, and over all, crowning all, is a beautiful, and in one so young, a strange dignity of manners and of mien, a calm seriousness, a sublime self-control, which at once compels the veneration, attracts the confidence, and secures the favor of all who behold him. That youth is the leader whom Heaven is preparing to conduct America through her approaching trial. As we see him voluntarily relinquishing the enjoyments, and luxuries, and ease of the opulent refinement in which he was born and bred, and choosing the perils and hardships of the wilderness; as we follow him, fording swollen streams, climbing rugged mountains, breasting the

forest storms, wading through snow drifts, sleeping in the open air, living upon the coarse food of hunters and of Indians, we trace, with devout admiration, the divinely appointed education he was receiving to enable him to meet and endure the fatigues, exposures and privations of the war of Independence. Soon he is called to a more public sphere of action, on the same theatre, and we again follow him in his romantic adventures as he traversed the far-off western wilderness, a special messenger to the French commander on the Ohio, and afterwards when he led forth the troops of Virginia in the same direction, or accompanied the ill-starred Braddock to the blood-stained banks of the Monongahela. Every where we see the hand of God conducting him into danger, that he might extract from it the wisdom of an experience not otherwise to be attained, and develope those heroic qualities by which alone danger and difficulty can be surmounted, but all the while covering him, as with a shield. When we think of him, at midnight and in mid-winter, thrown from a frail raft, into the deep and angry waters of a wide and rushing western river, thus separated from his only companion through the wilderness, with no human aid for miles and leagues around him, buffeting its rapid current, and struggling through driving cakes of ice—when we behold the stealthy savage, whose aim, as against all other marks, is unerring, pointing his rifle deliberately at him, and firing, over and over again—when we see him riding through showers of bullets on Braddock's fatal field, and reflect that never during his whole life was he wounded or even touched by a hostile force, do we not feel that he was guarded by an Unseen Hand? Yes, that sacred person was guarded by an Unseen Hand, warding off every danger. No peril by flood or by field was permitted to extinguish a life consecrated to the

hopes of humanity, and to the purposes of heaven. His military preparation was completed by being entrusted with the defence of the frontiers of Virginia and the neighboring colonies,—a command, which in the difficulties and embarrassments with which it was crowded, in its general character, and more especially in the wide-spread and incessant oversight, and forethought, and prudence, and patience it required, most remarkably resembled, was indeed a precise epitome of, the service he afterwards discharged as Commander in Chief of the forces of United America.

The warrior is now ready, but the statesman remains to be prepared. He accordingly resigned his commission, and retired to private and civil life. Although not then quite twenty-seven years of age, he had won a splendor of reputation, and a completeness of experience, as a military man, such as had never before been acquired in America. For more than sixteen years he rested from his warfare, amid the shades of Mount Vernon, ripening his mind by reading and reflection, increasing his knowledge of practical affairs, entering into the whole experience of a citizen, at home, on his farm, and as a delegate to the colonial Assembly; and when, at last, the war broke out, and the unanimous voice of the Continental Congress invested him, as the exigency required, with almost unbounded authority, as their Commander in Chief, he blended, although still in the prime of his life, in the mature bloom of his manhood, the attributes of a sage with those of a hero. A more perfectly fitted and furnished character has never appeared, on the theatre of human action, than when, reining up his war-horse, beneath the majestic and venerable elm, still standing at the entrance of the old Watertown road upon Cambridge Common, **GEORGE WASHINGTON** unsheathed his sword, and assumed the com-

mand of the gathering armies of American liberty. Those who had despaired, when they beheld their chief, despaired no more. The very aspect of his person and countenance, concurred with the history of his life, in impressing their hearts with a deep conviction that God was with him, in the exercise of a peculiar guardianship, and that in his hands their cause was safe.

Of course it will not be expected of me, after having so nearly approached the limits of the occasion, to enter, at large, upon the history of the War of American Independence. Open resistance to both the military and civil power of Great Britain began in this place. Here the people first rose against the royal troops. When the march of Col. Leslie was resolutely intercepted, and his further progress forbidden, by Col. Pickering at the head of the militia and minute men of this and the surrounding towns, at the bridge over our North River, it was then discovered that the people had considered, and were prepared for, the worst that could befall them in maintaining their rights.* Here too the independent commonwealth of Massachusetts came into existence. It was fitting that it should have been so. In our harbor Winthrop landed with the charter that secured independence to the early colony, and it was but renewing the ancient interest and glory of the spot, when the representatives of the people, sitting here as a House of Assembly convened by a royal Governor, resolved themselves, by a solemn act, into a PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, thus severing Massachusetts from the British crown forever.† When the first blow was struck by the royal forces in their march upon Lexington and Concord, our gallant neighbors of Danvers, rushing to the field from the most distant point, were in the thickest of the fight, and con-

*Appendix A.

†Appendix B.

tributed the blood of Essex men, among the largest proportions, to the precious sacrifice offered up, on that glorious and momentous day. Throughout the whole war, a native and a citizen of Salem was by the side of the commander in chief, sharing in his counsels, and possessing his confidence. In having thus enjoyed and deserved the constant friendship of Washington, in war and in peace, in the camp and in the cabinet, TIMOTHY PICKERING secured a glory, for which John Randolph declared in Congress that he would gladly surrender all his own riches and honors. But we require no testimony from abroad to lead us to do justice to the memory of that true patriot, that genuine republican, that honest man, at once the Aristides and the Cincinnatus of America.

But it was not on the land alone that our citizens distinguished themselves, in that great contest. Indeed it was to have been expected that the adventurous and daring spirit, which, from the first settlement of the place, has marked the mariners of Salem, and enabled them to lead and to open the way in every branch of the foreign commerce of the country, would be prompt to show itself in a struggle, as that most emphatically was, to secure to our ships the liberty of the seas. The intrepid and patriotic seamen of this and the neighboring ports performed prodigies of valor, and gave evidence of that extraordinary naval prowess, which is now an acknowledged American characteristic.

The history of the war of Independence, as maintained on the ocean, can never be wholly recovered from oblivion. Many of its incidents exist only in the memories of aged men, who are dropping from life, day by day, without leaving a record behind them. If a simultaneous effort were forthwith made, in all our maritime towns, to gather up what still may be within reach, the whole would constitute a body

of adventures and feats, such as could not have been executed or imagined except by a people, uniting unbounded enterprize, with the most glowing patriotism, and the most romantic valor.

Among the naval heroes of that day, none were superior to Captain Harraden of this place. He fought some of the most desperate actions, and achieved some of the most wonderful triumphs, which the ocean has ever witnessed. In private life he was amiable and upright. His temper was mild, and his manners gentle; but on the quarter deck, and amid the thunders of battle, the great and commanding energies of his noble nature were gloriously displayed; the more imminent the peril, the more terrific the scene, the more perfect his self-command, and calm composure, and serene intrepidity. He was not only brave himself, but he made all around him brave also. So evident and certain was it that he knew no fear, that fear vanished from the breasts of all under his command.

This consummate and extraordinary courage, by thus imparting itself to his whole crew, made him invincible against all odds, and gave him, as was justly observed, by one who understood his character and history, "a name of terror on the ocean." The following was one of his many heroic achievements in that war. In the spring of 1780, he sailed from Salem to Bilboa in the General Pickering, a vessel which had been built for a cruizer, but, on this voyage, was furnished with a letter of marque, and loaded with a cargo of sugar and tobacco. She was of about 100 tons, was armed with 16 six-pounders, with a crew of 45, men and boys. When near the coast of Spain, he fell in with and captured a privateer, of 22 nine-pounders and 60 men. Captain Harraden put on board of her a prize crew, under

the command of the late Jonathan Carnes of this place, thereby reducing, of course, his own crew to less than 40, all told. He was still further weakened and embarrassed by having to take care of nearly twice that number of prisoners. About a week afterwards an English ship, mounting 42 guns, with 140 men, came up with the prize and recaptured her. Notwithstanding the unparalleled disparity of force, Captain Harraden gave battle to her, and after a desperate contest, compelled her to seek safety in flight. Upon finding that, owing to her superior sailing, he could not overtake her, he gave up the pursuit, returned, deliberately retook his prize, and carried her safely into port. One of the venerable survivors of the crew of the General Pickering, on that occasion, Mr. Robert Cowan, of this city, says, in describing the action, that Harraden's vessel, while engaged in this conflict with an enemy so vastly her superior, "looked like a long-boat by the side of a ship." The battle occurred about the dawn of day, near the Spanish coast. An immense concourse of spectators, amounting, as was supposed, to nearly one hundred thousand, assembled along the shore, in boats, and on the hills, during the action ; and before Captain Harraden, with his prize, had been at anchor half an hour, one could walk a mile from his ship by stepping from one boat to another. So great was the enthusiasm of admiration with which the battle and the victory had been witnessed, that when he landed, he was surrounded by this vast throng of strangers and foreigners, and carried by them in triumph to a populous city in the neighborhood, where he was welcomed with public and unbounded honors. Another person, who was with him in battle, says that "he fought with an energy and determination that seemed superhuman," and that although in the most exposed positions,

"where the shot flew around him in thousands, he was all the while as calm and steady as amidst a shower of snow-flakes." During the war he captured more than a thousand guns from the ships of the enemy. JONATHAN HARRADEN was born in Gloucester, and died in Salem in 1803, in his fifty-ninth year, and never should the people of this place assemble to commemorate the war of Independence, without bearing in honored and affectionate remembrance the name of this dauntless hero and virtuous citizen.

The conflict between Britain, struggling to retain the brightest jewel in her crown, and America, to secure the independence for which she had become prepared, was long and exhausting, desperate and bloody. The whole continent from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico was the theatre of the strife, and after eight years of alternating success, the appeal to the God of Battles, which had been so solemnly registered in the Declaration of Independence, was decided from on high. Great Britain was compelled to relinquish all claim over her revolted but victorious colonies, Washington surrendered back his sword, and America was free.

Such, my fellow citizens, is a sketch of the train of causes and events by which the United States of America were ushered into the family of independent nations. The consequences that are to flow from this result are vast, and mighty. The consideration of them is a theme so grand and seductive that it would be delightful to expatiate upon it.

The resistance of the old thirteen colonies to the encroachments of the mother country, not only secured their own independence, but taught a lesson which has never been forgotten by the councils of the British crown. It has taught them not to trample upon their foreign dependencies, but to treat them with paternal liberality, to respect in them the

spirit of liberty, and to leave to them, in as large a measure as possible, the privileges of self-government. The vast and ever expanding colonial system of that empire, instead of being kept under the foot of the government at home, as it would have been, had not America resisted, is every where permitted to exercise, more or less, the powers of self-government, and to breathe the invigorating air of freedom. At this moment, if encroachments like those which the united colonies resisted in 1775, should be attempted by Great Britain upon either of her Provinces on our northern or eastern border, they would be as promptly and resolutely met there, as they were here. England is steadily including region after region in the embrace of her dominion. And it is the American Revolution that has caused the spirit of liberty to follow the march of her armies, so that wherever she plants her standard, there a new territory is secured to the domain of freedom.

The successful issue of the American Revolution might be shown to have doubled, at once, and ultimately to have indefinitely multiplied, the forces at work in the world in favor of liberty and reform. It has secured the final prevalence of our language and of free institutions throughout the globe. Two of the first rate powers of the world now speak that language ; they are planted on opposite continents ; one is gathering the islands and the regions of the old world within the pale of her empire by colonization and conquest, and the other is expanding over the new world by the peaceful process of a confederated union ; and wherever either is established, there freedom must finally prevail. And both by commerce, and philanthropy, are carrying the lights of civilization and christianity to every quarter and portion of the earth.

But I must confine myself, during the few moments that remain, to a brief consideration of the effect of the establishment of American Independence upon ourselves, and to the inculcation of one or two of the great duties of Republican patriotism.

For sixty years the people of the United States have been in the full enjoyment and responsible exercise of an independent self-government. What are the sensations, which a review of the manner in which they have borne this trust awakens in our breasts? The separation from England, in itself, did nothing immediately and absolutely for the great cause of human rights among us. It committed that cause entirely to our own hands, for good or for ill, as we should be found faithful or faithless. How has it been with us?

It cannot be denied that, in some respects, the people of the United States have not answered the sanguine expectations of the highest philanthropy. They are human, and of course imperfect, creatures; they have passions and interests, and these passions and interests have perverted their judgments, and darkened their consciences, as they ever have done, and ever will do so long as they exist in the breast of man. Prejudices, delusions, and blinding excitements have floated over us, and cast their shadows upon our land, as they do upon every land. Selfishness, party spirit, narrow projects, sectional bigotry, personal jealousies, and mad and treacherous ambition, have infected our counsels, impaired our happiness, and retarded our prosperity. The spirit of christian love, charity, and justice, has not yet been infused into the hearts of the people, in sufficient strength, to control the exercise of the sovereignty they are acknowledged to possess. Measures are sometimes adopted and sustained, which violate that spirit, and institutions still exist and are upheld, in strange and utter contrast and

conflict with it. The patriot and the philanthropist finds much in our condition over which to drop the tear of sorrow and shame, and for which to offer a prayer to heaven that its just judgments may not fall upon us.

But when, on the other hand, we consider the wasting and depraving effect of the long war of independence ; the variety of the materials which constituted the original thirteen states ; the inexperience of some of them in the work of self-government ; the unformed condition of things in most of the new states which, while in the very infancy of their social existence, have been clothed with the full powers of equal members of the confederacy ; the vast and perpetual influx of foreigners, strangers, at first, to the habits and genius of the country, and filled with romantic extravagancies of expectation, and fanciful political speculations, which years of experience and observation are required to reduce to the dimensions of sober wisdom and practicable truth ; the baleful and disastrous institutions, at war with the spirit of freedom, as well as with the spirit of the gospel, which, most unfortunately, were inserted and fastened into the frame-work of society, against the will of the people, in the days of their colonial dependence ; the low point of civilization, compared with that to which education and religion are destined to lift the race, which even the most advanced portions of the country have yet reached ; and the passions and weaknesses to which humanity, at the best, is liable—when we consider all these things fairly and fully, the conclusion must, I think, result, that it is a just occasion of patriotic pride, of grateful wonder, and of devout admiration, that so much has been avoided, of evil, and so much attained, of good.

Through a period of more than half a century, during which all other nations have been convulsed, and all other

attempts at self-government have failed, the great experiment has, here, been steadily in progress ; it has survived, and gloriously surmounted, the assaults of enemies from abroad, and of faction, and dissension, and insurrection within its own bosom ; through storm and through sunshine the Republic has, all the while, been extending its borders and swelling its millions ; and, notwithstanding our just complaints, and bitter disappointments, there is ground for encouragement, that experience and time, the constant circulation of knowledge, and the inculcation of christianity under its various denominations, are gradually raising the better principles of our countrymen into a preponderating ascendancy over the evil principles which have in some instances, and to some extent, misled them, and for hope, that the interests of peace, order, freedom, and righteousness, will ultimately flourish under the shield, which the expanding union of these multiplying states is spreading over the North American continent.

Let us, my fellow citizens, cherish this hope ; let us cherish it sacredly. If it is kept bright and warm in our hearts, it will prove an energetic and effective element of its own fulfilment. And why should we doubt the final triumphs of liberty and righteousness ? We might doubt if they were the cause of man alone—but they are not the cause of man alone, they are the cause of God. He stands engaged, pledged, to them. They have heretofore been sustained by his signal favor. His voice, uttered forth through all the Past, calls upon us to place a confident hope in the Future. When we reflect that this wide continent was reserved and concealed from the world until the feudal institutions of Europe had passed their culminating point, and men were ready for a better order of things—that then the veil was lifted from the bosom of the Atlantic, and a new and broad field here opened for the last trial of hu-

manity ; that the choicest spirits of a choice age were selected to conduct it ; and, as I have endeavored to show, that a Providential guidance, like an arm stretched down from the skies, has conducted the whole train of things from the very beginning—when we consider all this, and reflect that God is mighty and not to be baffled by the rebellious power, or rebellious passions of his creatures, we cannot allow ourselves to imagine for a moment that his providential care, as thus displayed, will fail of its purpose.

It is as certain, as the concurring testimony of nature and revelation can make it, that the Almighty Father designs to render this earth, at last, the happy abode of nations and of men dwelling together in peace and love. To doubt the progress of humanity, is, to me, the same, as to doubt the Divine Power and Wisdom and Goodness. To say that liberty can be utterly overthrown, and the just rights of man forever trampled in the dust, strikes upon my ears as nothing short of infidelity and impiety. But if we believe that the cause of humanity, as such, the world over, is to be promoted, why should we doubt that its progress here will be as rapid as elsewhere ? With all our faults, and all our misfortunes, it is still a truth which ought never to be overlooked, and which it would be as audacious to deny, as it is ungrateful to forget, that no government, ever invented, has worked so well, as that wonderful and beautiful system which the framers of the Constitution of the American Union contrived, and successfully recommended to the states and people—preserving, as it does, the local sovereignty of the several members of the confederacy, while, for purposes common to them all, it consolidates them into one compact and vigorous empire. It has proved itself admirably adapted to collect and concentrate the moral and physical force of the nation against

a foreign enemy; and recent events have most gloriously shown the self-sustaining energy which remains even in the smallest states of the confederacy. Occasional jars, and interferences, and perplexities, and threatening dangers, arise, but they belong to human things, and no where, beneath the sun, can we rationally expect entirely to avoid them. Yes, my fellow countrymen, let FAITH and HOPE be the pillars of our patriotism as of our piety. The blessings we enjoy, as citizens of this free land, will assuredly descend, with a tide of ever increasing depth and width, to our posterity. When we look into the past, we see the hand of God laying the foundations of the temple of our liberties, and when we look into the future, the depths of its boundless vistas are irradiated by the assurance that He will never permit the weakness or the wickedness of man to overthrow it.

The subject we have been considering, the train of thought that has been presented and suggested, showing the peculiar connection of our history with the Providence of God, leads me to one great fundamental principle, which ought always to be borne in mind, and which must be indelibly stamped, by recent occurrences, upon every benevolent heart, and every reflecting mind. If God is working with us, we must only use such instruments and means as he will approve. To resort to any other means will, of course, dissolve the alliance, and leave us to our ruin. God works with moral means in conducting his administration of the affairs of men, and upon such means exclusively must we depend for the advancement of the interests of political liberty and social reform. The forces, that wrought the foundations of our system of society and government, were moral in their nature, and so must those forces be, that are employed to rear its superstructure, and extend its accommodations, and rectify its defects.

It ought to be the solemn determination of the whole American people, that mere brute force shall never be permitted to be employed as an instrument of political any more than of moral or religious reform. I doubt not that such is already the settled determination of public sentiment. The liberty that all enjoy, even the humblest and lowliest, in these free states of the American Union, makes life too sweet to justify its sacrifice in the pursuit of an imaginary or real enlargement of that liberty ; and the sentiment of benevolence has become too strong to allow any among us to tolerate the idea of dipping our hands in a brother's blood for such a purpose. There is not, I rejoice to believe, a man in this community who would sanction the employment of means, that would involve the death or the bloodshed of a fellow citizen, to effect a change in the government of our own state, and if any sympathy has been directed, from this quarter, to those who have made such an attempt elsewhere, it has been owing to an unreflecting and hasty impulse of the spirit of liberty, springing from a misapprehension of the case. What I now say on this subject, let it, therefore, be observed, is not designed as a rebuke of any of our immediate fellow citizens, but for the purpose of more deeply impressing upon our own minds sentiments of momentous importance which we all cherish, and of giving a distinct utterance to an appeal, in behalf of those sentiments, which, with one heart and one voice, we would address to our fellow countrymen of every other city and town in the land.

The experience of nations and the laws of human nature concur in proclaiming that, if freemen draw the sword upon each other, for the professed purpose of enlarging their liberty, they will be freemen no more. A military despotism, resting on the worst passions of our nature, is sure to re-

sult from an attempt, in a free state, by the use of violent means, to obtain a political end. Parties may rage, and struggle for ascendancy as earnestly and vehemently as they will, and a clear field ought to be left to them, but the moment a deadly weapon is touched, or brute force in any form is employed to obtain power, let a universal voice of condemnation and indignation rise from the whole people.

The patriots of the Revolution deprecated the introduction of military force in the controversy between the colonies and the mother country. This was one of the grievances set forth in the Declaration of American Independence. They resorted to the sword only as the last alternative, in self-defence, against foreign troops, after those troops had struck the first blow, and, as I have shown in this discourse, not in the pursuit of new privileges, but in defence and for the recovery of ancient, and original privileges ; privileges, on the pledge of which their fathers had settled and built up the country. It was their earnest desire and purpose to conduct the controversy within the boundaries of argument and persuasion. By reasoning, by remonstrance, by appeals to the conscience and the moral sense of England and the world, they had hoped to vindicate their cause. They protested against the use of force, and only retaliated it, in the last extremity. It is unjust, it is cruel, it is shameful to quote the revolutionary war, in defence and justification of every insurrection and every mob fomented by reckless and desperate men. It is a gross and wicked misrepresentation of that event, and of the great and good men who acted in it.

The American people, of the present generation, are ready and determined to prove themselves true to the example of their fathers, by maintaining the independence of the country against all foreign interference, even if a world in arms should

assail it. They would cheerfully and gladly rush, as one man, to the point of attack, and with united energies, drive back the invader. But the heart sickens at the thought of having to preserve our liberties and privileges with bayonets constantly pointed at each others' breasts. Under such circumstances they would cease to be privileges and liberties. Solitude, deserts, death, would be infinitely preferable to such a condition of society and life.

The might that slumbers in a freeman's arm is our defence against the enemies of our country. It is a sure defence. It is a wall of fire around our borders. But in domestic conflicts we recognize no might, but that of reason and truth, addressed to the intelligence and conscience of the people, and passed upon by them in such manner and form as the law provides for the authoritative expression of their sovereign will. He who can harbor the idea of resorting to force, in a free republican country, to accomplish a political object, is ignorant of the first rudiments of popular liberty. He who has dared to carry it into practice, has committed the highest crime against the peace of society. And they who, standing at a safe distance, and having no right to intermeddle, and whose education, and positions, as professed statesmen and political leaders, deprive them of the excuse of not understanding the question, have stimulated their neighboring fellow citizens to a bloody domestic insurrection, are guilty of what in a republic ought to be, and when fully understood, will be, regarded by all parties, as the most unpardonable sin.

In uttering these sentiments I fear not the imputation of encroaching upon the party politics of the day. This is not a party question. It cannot be made one. A party could not stand a day in Massachusetts on the ground of a

forcible and sanguinary assault upon the established government. It would be dangerous, and, I doubt not, fatal ground for a party to occupy in any one of the United States. The people, in this country, can only assail the government through the ballot-box, and if none but legitimate means are employed, those means will, in due season and in good season, prevail, in every state, in bringing the ballot-box within the reach of the arm of every citizen of responsible age, who has embarked his life and fortunes and affections in the country, and who, by being competent, and liable to be called, to serve the state, may in justice, and equity, maintain his claim to participate in governing it.

In having thus denounced the use of force, in accomplishing political reform, in free states, I am sure of the support and sympathy, not only of all true christian philanthropists, but of every man who understands the meaning of civilization and republicanism. Civilization expresses the growing ascendancy of the moral and intellectual energies of mankind, over the physical and sensual faculties and passions of their nature. When, therefore, a civilized state, commits its destiny to the issue of physical strength, to a struggle of mere brute force, it abandons, for the time being, its civilization, and surrenders itself back to barbarism. The most perfect idea, we can form, of a free republican constitution of society, is one in which political power is shared equally by all the citizens. But if military force is permitted to determine political power, large classes of the citizens will be disfranchised. The conscientious, who from principle are opposed to war in any form or for any purpose, will, of course, be excluded. So will the aged, the feeble, the sick, the busy, and all who are required to provide for the subsistence of families, and the preservation of the state.

What folly, or what hypocrisy, it is for those persons to pretend to respect the rights of the people, who at the same time advocate a principle which thus excludes from political power such large classes of the most deserving citizens ! The use of force in political controversies, is subversive of the true democratic doctrine of the right of the majority to govern. Success in war does not depend upon numbers only, but upon an infinite variety of circumstances. An incompetent leader, a defective organization, or insufficient supplies, may bring vast multitudes of men into captivity to a mere handful of disciplined troops, well provided, and skilfully commanded.

For these, and other reasons too numerous to mention, and too obvious to need to be mentioned, I feel authorized and bound to assert, that the use of force, in obtaining power, in any of these republican states, is a violation of the great principles of popular and democratic liberty. He who recommends it, does what he can to bring us under that very power by which despots, in every age of the world, have made abject slaves of the great majority of their subjects. One of those despots inscribed his cannon "**THE LAST ARGUMENT OF KINGS.**" It was the custom of another, pointing to his artillery, to pronounce it "**THE SUPREME LAW.**" As an argument, it has no place in the logic, as a law, it has no place in the code, of republicanism. May it be repudiated, forever, with abhorrence, by the whole American people, of every party, and in every state !

If my voice could but reach those of my fellow countrymen, who feel themselves deprived of their just natural rights, who, whether in the North or the South, are excluded from the privileges of freemen, and I claim a right to appeal to them, for no heart in the land beats with a livelier and deeper sympathy for them than mine, I would beg, and implore

them never, voluntarily and of choice,—never, unless absolutely driven to it by their oppressors,—to resort to violence, however clearly the physical and numerical force may seem to be within their grasp. The awful and murderous operations of military power can only be justified, when directed against a foreign invader, or domestic conspirators attempting to obtain possession of the government by force of arms ; even in such cases they must be allowed to be in themselves great evils, and are only tolerated, because necessary to put down still greater evils. They cannot be rightfully employed, as means of enlarging the liberties, or reforming the abuses, of any nation or community. The horrors and cruelties of civil and intestine war, the bloodshed and the barbarism of the battle-field, the furies and the crimes attendant upon massacre, conflagration and pillage, can never be made to prepare the way for the blessings of liberty, peace and equal rights to enter and take up their abode in any land. They serve only to bind upon it still more firmly the burden and the woes of slavery and sin. "All they that take the sword," that is, select and adopt it as the means of improving their social or political condition, "shall perish with the sword." But truth is mighty, reason is mighty, conscience is mighty, the spirit of human and of christian benevolence is mightier than them all, and the most despised minority, the most trampled victims of oppression and slavery, if they make these the weapons of their warfare, and wield them in faith, patience and perseverance, will be sure to conquer, for God will be their ally. And the strongest and fiercest giant, who comes to the field with a spear, and with a sword, and with a shield, will be sure to fall before the merest stripling who meets him in the name of the Lord.

I would extend the same appeal to that vast and continually increasing multitude, scattered through all other countries, whose hearts have been kindled with the glowing aspirations of patriotism and philanthropy, by the contemplation of the successful operation of free institutions here.

This day, my fellow citizens, does not belong to you, or to America alone. It is dear to the hearts of millions elsewhere. It is their day as well as yours. As nation after nation shall, hereafter, rise to the enjoyment of republican institutions, they will all look back to the Fourth of July 1776, as the true original birth day of their liberties. It is the anniversary of Human Freedom ; and the friends of freedom every where have a right to be recognized as worthy to participate in its celebration. Wherever they dwell, even in the uttermost parts of the earth, they are your brethren. Prompted by the sympathy, appropriate to this relation, you have welcomed us, as in thousands and tens of thousands we have flocked to your shores, have received us to fraternal confidence, and given to us free and happy homes.

Speaking, then, in behalf of our brethren, in other lands, I would earnestly entreat you to send to them, across the wide ocean, a voice of encouragement to persevere, with good heart and hope, in the work of reform ; but with that voice of encouragement mingle a voice of warning ; charge and implore them to maintain the dignity and the sanctity of their cause, and never to be seduced by an erroneous and superficial view of the American War of Independence, or by the baleful examples which have been set, in a few instances in our history, by misguided men, to betray that cause, by voluntarily committing it to violence and bloodshed. If they will but be firm, and calm, and patient, watching for every proper opportunity to diffuse their principles, and faithfully

addressing argument and persuasion, dissuasion and remonstrance, to their respective fellow-citizens and governments, they will be continually acquiring a moral strength, greater than the power of armies, and their triumph, even if late, will be complete, and sure and perpetual.

But however the friends of the cause of liberty may discharge their trust elsewhere, let us be faithful. Let us resolve that here it shall never be removed from its true foundation, or sustained by any other than its only legitimate and only sufficient support, the moral energies of a virtuous and intelligent people.

It is obvious that, in this country, every thing depends upon the prevalence of a clear and thorough apprehension of the principle I have now enforced, and an inflexible fidelity of allegiance to it on the part of the people. A complication of moral influences is acting upon the frame of society which, if not interrupted and thwarted by bringing into disturbing and deranging operation the uncongenial agency of mere brute force, cannot fail ultimately to enlarge the blessings of liberty, where it is already enjoyed, and to confer it upon those who are now deprived of it. If religion, education, benevolence, and the inherent energies of civilization and republicanism are permitted peacefully to continue to operate, it needs no prophecy to predict the final triumph of human rights over every vestige of feudalism, and every form of slavery, within the boundaries of the American Union. If political parties, and contending masses of the people can be kept from employing physical force against each other, all will issue well; but if the barbaric enginery of guns and bayonets is allowed to enter the field, our liberty and our civilization will be lost, at once, and forever.

When we consider the materials of which our citizen soldiery is composed, we feel sure that all is safe and right. Enlightened by education, and attached by their professional occupations, by the domestic ties that are gathered around them, and by the stake they have in the property and prosperity of the community, to the cause of order and peace, we know that they will exercise with sacred fidelity, the fearfully responsible power with which they are invested.

Because we so regard you, citizen soldiers, we rejoice to behold your glittering ranks moving through our streets, to listen to the soul-inspiring strains of your martial music, to unfold the ensign of our sovereignty over your heads, and to throw around your organization the sanction and the favor of the law. We have placed the sword, with proud confidence, in your hands, knowing that you will wield it only against foreign enemies of your country, or armed insurgents attempting by force to overthrow your government. We trust to you to maintain the efficiency and spirit of such military organization as may be judged desirable ; and we know that you will be careful and conscientious in keeping the military subordinate and faithful to the civil authority of the state. The only power you will ever wield against your own government, will be the power you possess as citizens, operating, by discourse and in debate, upon public opinion—the power of

“The Freeman, casting with unpurchased hand
The vote that shakes the turrets of the land.”

And let us all, my fellow citizens, in our several spheres, be true and devoted to the great interests of patriotism and humanity. The place where we have our abode is a classical spot in the history of free institutions. Here the foundations of civil and religious liberty were laid, deep and im-

movable, at the very beginning. Here was one of the earliest, if not the very earliest, Free School in America. The winds, that wafted Winthrop to our port, breathed the spirit of unconquerable and undying independence into the new-born Commonwealth, and from this point that spirit has been spread over the whole length and breadth of the continent. A House of Assembly, sitting in this place, proposed and led the way in creating the glorious old Congress which carried the country through the War of the Revolution. Here the people first confronted the royal power, face to face.—Here the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as a sovereign State, rose into being—and here intelligence, and enterprize, and patriotism have ever had a favorite home.

By taking, and by keeping, the lead in diffusing and increasing the blessings of education, of temperance, of charity, and of piety, may we and our posterity secure ever increasing distinction, glory, and happiness to this our beloved City of Peace.

NOTE.

In confirmation of the views, expressed in the foregoing Address, of the important and decisive agency of the First Charter Government of Massachusetts, in preparing the way for American Independence, I would refer to President QUINCY's Centennial Oration, delivered in Boston on the 17th of September, 1830—one of the most instructive and eloquent productions of its class.

APPENDIX.

A. [p. 27.]

The following account of the affair at North Bridge, was first printed as part of a Memoir of **TIMOTHY PICKERING**, published in the National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans, at Philadelphia, 1834.

"The memorable distinction of conducting the first resistance in arms to the power of the mother country, fell to the lot of Colonel **PICKERING**. On Sunday, the 26th February, 1775, while the inhabitants of Salem were assembled in their usual places of worship, an express from Marblehead brought intelligence, that a regiment of British troops were landing from a transport ship, and preparing to march through Salem, to take possession of some military stores, deposited in the interior of the county. The people were instantly dismissed from their churches, and assembled on the drawbridge, with such means of resistance as were at hand, where they awaited the approach of Col. Leslie and his regiment. On their arrival at the bridge the draw was raised. Colonel Pickering presented himself on the opposite side, at the head of the multitude, and a small body of minute-men, drawn up in battle array. He informed Col. Leslie that the military stores he had come to seize were the property of the people, and that they would not be surrendered without a struggle. Colonel Leslie then ordered his men to get into a large gondola, attached to the wharf, and in that way secure a passage over the narrow stream. In a moment, Joseph Sprague, Esq., the owner of the boat, and at that time, the major of the Essex regiment, sprang on board, beat a hole through her side, and sunk her to the bottom. While effecting his purpose, he was wounded by the bayonets of the enemy, thus shedding the first blood of the revolution. While these events were taking place, the parties were fast reaching such a degree of exasperation as would have brought on a general and sanguinary conflict. At this juncture, the Reverend Mr. Barnard interposed, and by his judicious persuasions prevented the approaching catastrophe. He represented to Col. Leslie that the day was so far spent, that he would not be able to reach the place where the stores were deposited, before night, even if the draw were then let down, and that such was the determined spirit of the militia and people in general, that a passage could not be forced without great carnage on both sides. Colonel Leslie at last concluded to send a message to Colonel Pickering, pledging his honor, that if he would let him pass the bridge, so that it might appear a voluntary act on his part, he would abandon the attempt to seize the stores, and im-

mediately after passing the bridge, turn back again towards Marblehead. Colonel Pickering ordered his armed men, and the assembled multitude, to arrange themselves on both sides of the road, facing inwards, the draw was let down, the British regiment marched through the silent ranks of the patriots, advanced a few rods beyond the bridge, countermarched, returned with a quick step to Marblehead, re-embarked, and set sail from the harbor that night."

Since writing the foregoing account, I have received the following additional particulars from our venerable and respected fellow citizen, JOHN HOWARD, Esq., who was himself under arms, on the occasion, in Marblehead:—

When Col. Leslie had landed his troops, the Selectmen of Marblehead waited upon him to enquire the object of so extraordinary a movement as the disembarkation of such a force, in that place, on the Lord's Day. He declined giving them any information. There were eight military companies in Marblehead, at that time, comprising nearly the whole male population, between sixteen and sixty years of age. They were all promptly assembled under Colonel Orne. Mr. Howard thinks that they numbered more than a thousand men. They were ordered to station themselves behind the houses and fences along the road, prepared to fall upon the British, on their return from Salem, if it should be found that hostile measures had been used by them; but if it should appear that no concerted act of violence upon the persons or property of the people had been committed, they were charged not to show themselves, but to allow the British detachment to return unmolested to their transport. If the counsels of the Rev. Mr. Barnard had not been heeded, and Leslie had persisted in forcing his way beyond the bridge, it cannot be doubted that the road from Salem to Marblehead would have been the scene, on the 26th of February, of a more sanguinary and destructive retreat than was the road from Concord to Lexington on the 19th of April of that same year. Whoever considers the spirit, which on such an occasion, kindles in the breasts of Marblehead-men, the overwhelming numbers in which they were gathered to the field, and the prudent but resolute orders under which they were arranged and directed, can have no doubt that, had Leslie given provocation, neither he nor one of his men would have lived to return to their ship.

B. [p. 27.]

The following is extracted from an article in the Salem Register of May 12, 1842, giving a history of the Court Houses in Salem, with the addition of a single circumstance, ascertained since its date.

"This Court House became the scene of the most important and momentous political transactions. On the 7th of June, 1774, the General Court of Massachusetts met at Salem. The House of Assembly occupied the Court House. It was at this session that the plan of a GENERAL CONGRESS was suggested, to "deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures to be by them recommended to all the Colonies for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious." In pursuance of this plan, such a Congress was proposed to be assembled at Philadelphia on the 1st of September, the Speaker was directed to communicate the proposal to the Speakers of all the other Colonies, and the five following persons were appointed to represent Massachusetts in said Congress :—Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, James Bowdoin, and John Adams.

When Governor Gage found what patriotic and decisive measures the House of Assembly was pursuing, he sent his Secretary to dissolve it. But the members of the House getting intelligence of his design, locked their door, and would allow no one to enter until their proceedings were all consummated. The Secretary read the Governor's Proclamation on the stairs, and the House dissolved in obedience to it, as soon as it was ready.

When the doors of the House were closed upon the Governor's Secretary, orders were despatched to the military to march to the Court House and compel the House to dissolve and disperse. The troops on their way up from the Neck, halted, where Newbury street enters Essex street, near the site of the Franklin Building, to load. While thus engaged, word was brought that the House having finished its business, had adjourned *sine die*, and separated.

A Continental Congress, as is well known, was the instrument by which the Colonies were united into one compacted body and thus enabled to pass triumphantly through the Revolutionary contest. Without such a political organization and confederation all resistance to the power of Great Britain would have easily been crushed. It was such a Congress as the House of Assembly proposed that alone could have saved the cause. Whoever considers the mighty consequences which have flowed from the successful resistance of the Colonies, and from the Independence of the United States of America, will appreciate the interest which belongs to the memory of the Salem Court House, where, in defiance of the Royal Governor and of the Empire whose authority he wielded, the representatives of the people provided for a union of the Colonies in a confederated Congress, and elected the first delegates to that body.

That same Court Room was the fountain from which proceeded not only the National Government of United America, but the distinct political organization of the State Government. The circumstances which led to the existence of an independent Government in Massachusetts, were as follows:—

On the 1st of September 1774, Governor Gage sent out precepts for the election of representatives for a General Court, to be convened at Salem, on the 5th of October of that year. The result of the elections, and the high tone of public sentiment expressed at the town meetings throughout the Colony, led the Govern-

er and his Council to issue a Proclamation, on the 28th of September, forbidding the members elect to assemble, and dissolving the House of Assembly before it had been formed. This was considered as a highly unconstitutional measure, and it was resolved to disregard altogether the Proclamation. The members elect of the House of Assembly accordingly met, in conformity with the Executive precepts, in pursuance of which they had been chosen by the people, in the Court House of Salem, on Wednesday, October 5th, 1774. The head quarters of Governor Gage were at the Collins House in Danvers. Upon convening, the House sent a Message to his Excellency, signifying their readiness to take the usual oaths of office, and requesting his attendance for that purpose. His Excellency did not deign a reply. The House remained in silence, waiting for his Excellency, until noon — then adjourned to the afternoon — remained in silence until the close of the day — adjourned to the next morning, and after waiting till nearly the close of the day, resolved, it being ascertained that his Excellency was determined to neglect his duty, to proceed to the discharge of their own. They accordingly organized themselves, chose JOHN HANCOCK, Chairman, and BENJAMIN LINCOLN, Secretary, and appointed a Committee to consider and report upon what ought to be done, under the very peculiar circumstances of the case. The next forenoon, on Friday, October 7, the Committee reported the following Preamble and Resolutions:—

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.
In the Court House at Salem, October 7, 1774.

WHEREAS, his excellency, Thomas Gage, Esq., did issue writs bearing date the first of September last, for the election of members to serve as representatives in a great and general court, which he did "think fit and appoint" to be convened and holden the fifth day of October instant, at the court house in this place: And whereas, a majority of members duly elected in consequence of said writs, did attend at said court house the time appointed, there to be qualified according to charter for taking seats and acting as representatives in said great and general court; but were not met by the governor or other constitutional officer or officers by him appointed for administering the usual oaths, and qualifying them thereto:— And whereas, a proclamation, bearing date the 28th day of September last, and published in sundry newspapers, with the signature of his excellency, contains many reflections on this province, as being in a tumultuous and disorderly state; and appears to have been considered by his excellency as a constitutional discharge of all such persons as have been elected in consequence of his excellency's said writs: The members aforesaid so attending, having considered the measures which his excellency has been pleased to take by his said proclamation, and finding them to be unconstitutional, unjust, and disrespectful to the province, think it their duty to pass the following resolves:

'Therefore, *Resolved*, as the opinion of said members:

1st. That by the royal charter of the province, the governor, for the time being, is expressly obliged to convene, "upon every last Wednesday in the month of May, every year forever, and at such other times as he shall think fit and appoint, a great and general court." And, therefore, that as his excellency had thought fit, and by his writ appointed a great and general court to be convened on the fifth day of October instant, his conduct in preventing the same is against the express words, as well as true sense and meaning of the charter, and unconstitutional; more especially as, by charter, his excellency's power "to adjourn, prorogue and dissolve all great and general courts," doth not take place after said courts shall be appointed, until they have first "met and convened."

2dly. That the constitutional government of the inhabitants of this province, being, by a considerable military force at this time attempted to be superseded and annulled; and the people, under the most alarming and just apprehensions of slavery, having, in their laudable endeavors to preserve themselves therefrom discovered, upon all occasions, the greatest aversion to disorder and tumult, it must be evident to all attending to his excellency's said proclamation, that his represen-

tations of the province as being in a tumultuous and disordered state, are reflections the inhabitants have by no means merited; and, therefore, that they are highly injurious and unkind.

3dly. That as the pretended cause of his excellency's proclamation for discharging the members elected by the province in pursuance of his writs, has for a considerable time existed, his excellency's conduct in choosing to issue said proclamation, (had it been in other respects unexceptionable,) but a few days before the court was to have been convened, and thereby unavoidably putting to unnecessary expense and trouble a great majority of members from the extremities of the province, is a measure by no means consistent with the dignity of the province; and, therefore, it ought to be considered as a disrespectful treatment of the province, and as an opposition to that reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies so ardently wished for by all the friends of both.

4thly. That some of the causes assigned as aforesaid for this unconstitutional and wanton prevention of the general court, have, in all good governments, been considered among the greatest reasons for convening a parliament or assembly; and, therefore, the proclamation is considered as a further proof, not only of his excellency's disaffection towards the province, but of the necessity of its most vigorous and immediate exertions for preserving the freedom and constitution thereof.

These Resolutions, with the Preamble, were accepted, and forthwith the following vote was moved, seconded, and passed:—

Voted, That the members aforesaid do now resolve themselves into a PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, to be joined by such other persons as have been or shall be chosen for that purpose, to take into consideration the dangerous and alarming situation of public affairs in this province, and to consult and determine on such measures as they shall judge will tend to promote the true interest of his majesty, and the peace, welfare and prosperity of the province.

The Congress having elected again John Hancock and Benjamin Lincoln as Chairman and Secretary, adjourned to meet at Concord the next Tuesday, Oct. 11, 1774. This was the origin of the State Government of Massachusetts.

ORIGINAL ODE—WRITTEN BY EDWIN JOCELYN, ESQ.

AIR—“*Hail Columbia.*”

I.

Wake the song! ne'er let it sleep!
Bid its breath in triumph sweep
O'er a Land whose kindling voice
Calls on Nature to rejoice!
Let the shout in joyous sound,
Rouse the mountain echoes round!
Ocean, with its heaving swell,—
Heaven above, the gladness tell;—
Fire, its burning tribute pay,
To radiate and gild the DAY!
Chorus,—Hail the DAY! its glorious NAME!
Long shall live on scroll of FAME!
DAY of pride forever be
To hearts United, Firm, and Free!

II.

Lives there yet that sacred fire
Transmitted from each valiant SIRE—
The flame that shot through patriot veins,
When tyranny but stirr'd his chains?—
Oh! rouse the spark, if still it live—
This hour a holy impulse give;
The Patriot spirit now be shar'd,
If marring party yet has spar'd;—
Oh! let the DAY revive, renew
The spirit of that daring Few!
Chorus,—HAIL THE DAY, &c.

III.

Crown the DAY! the HALLOW'D TIME!
Joy ring out from tower'd chime;
Beauty's fingers garlands weave,—
And Beauty's breast ecstatic heave,
While Truth its patriot maxim lends,
And Song its glad'ning accent blends,—
Let Age, reviving, catch the glow,
And Youth, inspired, in virtue grow;—
Then the DAY shall blessings bring,
As Time returns on circling wing!
Chorus,—HAIL THE DAY! &c.

ORDER OF EXERCISES

AT MECHANIC HALL, JULY 4, 1842.

I.

Voluntary—by the Band.

II.

Introductory Prayer—by Rev. JOEL MANN.

III.

Anthem—by a select choir.

IV.

Reading of the Declaration of Independence—by Rev.
THOMAS D. ANDERSON.

V.

Original Ode—by EDWIN JOCELYN, Esq.

VI.

Oration—by Rev. CHARLES W. UPHAM.

VII.

Anthem.

VIII.

Concluding Prayer, and Benediction—by Rev. L. S. EVERETT.

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